A PAPER

ON

THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1860

READ BY

HON. ELBRIDGE G. KEITH

TREASURER OF THE UNIVERSITY

AT THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

JUNE 19, 1904

THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1860

It was a gala day in Chicago when in the Winter of 1860 it was announced that the Hon. Norman B. Judd, the Illinois member of the Republican National Committee, had secured for our city the approaching National Convention. No national party council had heretofore ventured so far west, and the event thus promised to our city was welcomed with a boyish enthusiasm. The world must know of Chicago's manifest destiny, and now was our time to convince the doubters. No distinction of party or social relations divided the young city when its merits were in the scale. Now was the time to put to shame the jeers and ridicule of our rival sister cities, St. Louis and Milwaukee. No thought was given to our securing the title of the "City of Conventions." The great River and Harbor Convention of 1847 was recalled by all the old settlers as a wonderfully prodigious affair, and indeed it was for a city of fifteen thousand people, as it was said eighteen States were represented and from six to ten thousand people were in attendance. In the thirteen years following, the city had passed through many vicissitudes, such as seasons of cholera and of great financial depression. Yet, rapid strides had been made, our population numbering about one hundred and ten thousand, and ranking the ninth of American cities. The money panic of 1857 had been felt with terrific force, and in the years that followed, the recovery was extremely slow. The currency, mostly of the wildcat sort, was so unreliable as to cause the holders great anxiety to be rid of it before it was pronounced worthless. The corner lot dealers had enjoyed a hey-day in the prosperous years of '55 and '56 but now were in despair, most of them hopelessly in debt, and the remnant paying two per cent a month to maintain their credit. Lake Street was the thoroughfare and the pride of the city, but many of its buildings were on screws stilted to a new grade, which a recent city ordinance had made ten or twelve feet above lake level

in order to get out of the marsh on which the city was built. Largely the city still rested on its original foundations, but a morning walk was a novelty to strangers on this principal street, as it was a succession of climbing or descending stairways, according as the sidewalks had been built to comply with, or had neglected to obey, the ordinance. But these drawbacks were not thought of. Would not the strangers see that in due time these things would be cared for?

A great hall must be built—the Convention must have something better and bigger than any other city had afforded. With nothing but the old Metropolitan Hall, seating about 1,200 people, we should be ashamed of ourselves. But who was to pay for it? This is still a mystery unexplained, for our poverty was great. But in the exuberance of the "See-what-a-big-boy-am-I" spirit, the "Wigwam" was built. To us at that time it was a wonder. To memory—as I now recall it, at least—architecturally it was little more than a great barn. It occupied the southeast corner of Market and Lake Streets, 100x180 feet, and about 40 feet in height. The interior floor was divided, the stage seating some 2,000, with two large committee rooms, one on either side of the stage. The main floor, capable of accommodating an audience of 8,000, rested on an incline, so that from all portions of the room a good view of the stage was obtained. A gallery 33 feet wide ran around three sides, one portion of which was reserved for ladies. A New York paper, in commenting on it, said, "The erection of such a building on such short notice for such a purpose shows that Western people are not so poor as many are fond of asserting," and it adds, "We congratulate the Republicans on the hospitable treatment in store for them in the Queen City of the West, where there are many evidences of wealth, luxury and splendor which no one expects to meet in a town scarcely a quarter of a century old." That was a time when we enjoyed and received compliments.

Not to belittle the good work that Mr. Judd did in the Committee, it must be conceded that the location was in part due to the great political debate of two years previous between Douglas and Lincoln. To this memorable canvass, one of the most creditable incidents of our National history, the attention of the entire people of the country was drawn. Let us briefly notice its importance and influence in the contest of 1860, for it was while competing for the honors of that campaign that Abraham Lincoln

was first introduced to the Nation. To those who knew him in his own State, it was the subject of anxiety when it was known that he was to meet his rival in seven joint debates. Douglas was then the ideal of the Northern Democracy, by far the most conspicuous public man of that day. Diminutive in stature, he had a well formed head on a good sized body, a face not of the Websterian mould yet not unpleasing. But my prejudices were strong. I had never admired his politics, and so when for the first time I listened to his speech, I refused to own what I afterwards conceded, his wonderful skill as a debater. His broad chest and firm, rich voice assisted to make one forget his stumpy figure. Polite and generally good natured, his magnetism dispelled all doubt as to why he was the idol of his party and all question of his right to be a born leader. By most of the Republicans of that day he was esteemed insincere, if not a demagogue. Horace Greeley had admired him in his fight with Buchanan, but referring to his being a presidential candidate, said in a letter, "As to Douglas, he is like the man's boy who," he said. "didn't weigh as much as he expected and he always knew he wouldn't," adding, "I never thought him very sound coin." Mr. Blaine, writing long after, says of Douglas, "He was everywhere known as a debater of singular skill. His mind was fertile. No man excelled him in the use of sophistry. When he could not elucidate a point to his own advantage, he would fatally becloud it for his opponent. In that peculiar style of debate—which resembles a physical combat—he had no equal. He spoke with extraordinary readiness. He used good English, terse, vigorous, pointed. He had but slight appreciation of wit. He was not a reader. He never quoted a line of poetry or used the classics. But he was by nature an orator, and by long practice, a debater." It was conceded that from the death of Webster and Clay, he was the most resourceful and ablest debater of the Senate, overmastering Seward, Chase, or Sumner.

It was not, therefore, strange if with the eagerness to listen to their first debate, Mr. Lincoln's friends had some misgivings as to his ability to cope with so dangerous a rival. It was felt that while his mental processes were of a high order for a set speech, yet in an off hand debate, he could not match the quick, ready command over his subject which his opponent possessed; sharpened as it had been by a long service and practice in both Houses of Congress.

The first debate, as you may remember, occurred at Ottawa. Twenty crowded passenger coaches left Chicago over the Rock Island road early in the morning of that day. I spent nearly my last dime to be there, but I have always considered it one of my best investments. As we drew into Morris, a station some distance east of Ottawa, we caught sight of Lincoln standing at the station platform awaiting the train. Most of the Republicans rushed out either to shake his hand or to ascertain if he was in good trim for the encounter. His tall figure is perhaps best pictured to my mind by that occasion. He was dressed in a brown jeans suit, ill fitting, the length of the sleeves of his coat and the leg of his trousers both very scant, as also the starch of his shirt collar. His frame seemed gigantic. Six feet four in height, somewhat stoop-shouldered and lean in flesh, he was far from handsome as he inclined forward shaking hands very cordially, though in a dignified manner. His face was sallow and weather beaten, as always, sad in repose, but lighting up instantly upon any hint of good humor either from within himself or upon others' suggestion. None could fail to see a certain awkward hesitation, or rawness of manner, probably in part due to want of familiarity with public life. Reaching Ottawa he changed his attire and appeared upon the platform in a neat white duck suit complete and much more becoming than his morning attire, contrasting in this as in every other aspect of appearance with Douglas, who was dressed in a black broadcloth frock coat and trousers, and devoid of vest, collar, or necktie.

It was a vast crowd, coming from near and far, and all deeply interested in their respective champions, though the friends of Douglas had much more confidence. Mr. Douglas had the opening and was at his best, jaunty, keen and confident of his powers, but withal dignified and animated. His voice, deep and strong, yet melodious, captivating in his magnetism, he clinched his arguments with a peculiar swing of his well clutched right hand triumphantly above his head that was expressive of the superiority of which he seemed conscious. It would be interesting to analyze the speeches of this occasion, but this has been done often by abler minds. This is an example of his playfulness in his reference to Mr. Lincoln's former speeches at Chicago and Springfield: "In the remarks I have made on this platform and the position of Mr. Lincoln upon it, I mean nothing disrespectful or unkind to that gen-

tleman. I have known him for nearly twenty-five years. There were many points of sympathy between us. When we first got acquainted, we were both comparatively boys and both struggling with poverty in a strange land. I was a school teacher in the town of Winchester and he a flourishing grocery keeper in the town of Salem. * * * * Lincoln is one of those peculiar men who perform with admirable skill everything they undertake, etc."

Mr. Lincoln in the reply was not at ease in the beginning. He appeared almost painfully conscious of his ungainliness of manner. His voice, naturally high keyed, was almost piping, his pose was odd, his gestures strained and ungraceful, but he soon seemed to forget himself as he warmed to the high moral plane he assumed, his purpose grew intense and his grey eyes lighted up, animating his entire figure with that earnestness in which self was forgotten. His voice was more pleasing. Closing an appeal, he would stretch to its utmost his long arm and point with index finger at his audience to impress the final sentence. He noticed the passage I have quoted in Douglas's opening in these words: "Now I pass on to consider one or two more of these little follies. The Judge is woefully at fault about his early friend Lincoln being a 'grocery-keeper.' I don't know that it would be a great sin if I had been; but he is mistaken. Lincoln never kept a grocery anywhere in the world. It is true that Lincoln did work the latter part of one winter in a little still house up at the head of a hollow." It has always seemed to me that he endeavored to be more than fair to his opponent, so that none could criticise, and thus win those who were either half persuaded or wholly opposed to him. Devoting his persuasiveness to this class, he captured all. Some of his allusions to Douglas were far from returning compliments; a spirit of sincere self depreciation, too, was often apparent. This is a fair illustration from a former speech in 1854: "Twenty years ago Judge Douglas and I became acquainted. We were both young then, he a trifle the younger. Then we were both ambitious. I quite as much as he. With me the race of ambition has been a failure, a flat failure. With him it has been one of splendid success. His name fills the nation and is not unknown in foreign lands. I affect no contempt for the high eminence he has reached, so reached that the oppressed of my species might have shared with me in the elevation. I would rather stand on that eminence than wear the richest crown that ever pressed a monarch's brow.'

Again, when Douglas had characterized Lincoln's speech at Springfield as carefully prepared, he replied, "It was. I admit that I am not a master of language, I have not a fine education, I am not capable of entering into a disquisition upon dialectics, as I believe you call it." In his Springfield speech of July 17, 1858, he said: "There is still another disadvantage under which we labor, and to which I will ask your attention. It arises out of the relative positions of the two persons who stand before the State as candidates for the Senate. Senator Douglas is of world-wide renown. All the anxious politicians of his party * * * have been looking upon him as certainly, at no distant day, to be the President of the United States. They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face, post offices, land offices, marshalships and cabinet appointments, chargéships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in wonderful exuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands * * * ; with greedier anxiety they rush about him, sustain him, give him marches, triumphal entries, and receptions. * * * On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be President. In my poor, lean, lank face nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out. * * * We have to fight this battle upon principle, and upon principle alone." [1]

The debate at Ottawa was not unlike those that followed. Douglas plausible, alert and adroit, displaying his oratory most effectually, yet with little of variety; Lincoln, the master of logic, simple in language but with a forcible vocabulary, for he was a

1 I was eager to hear the peroration, which in my youth I had always expected as the usual climax worthy of especial attention from great men, but Lincoln's hour and a half speech was concluded with this: "My friends, that ends the chapter. The Judge can take his half hour."—(Atlantic for February, 1904.)

I notice in Mr. Henry Villard's Recollections of Lincoln a mistake in describing the scene (which occurred at Ottawa) at Freeport, where Lincoln was seized and carried off on the shoulders of his admirers from the platform at the conclusion of the debate. Douglas made a playful allusion to this incident by saying in his next speech that Lincoln was so frightened by questions put to him that he trembled and had to be carried off the platform, and had to "lay up" a week for fear of encountering the people in Egypt, as Southern Illinois was called, on these questions.—(Lincoln-Douglas Debates, page 130.)

Lincoln took this quite seriously and made much of it at Jonesboro, saying, "Did the Judge talk of trotting me down to Egypt to scare me to death? Why, I know the people better than he does. I was raised just a little east of here. I am a part of this people. But the Judge was raised further north and perhaps he has some horrid idea of what this people might be induced to do."

careful student of Shakespeare. No better summing up of the issues of that great campaign can be found than in Lincoln's closing speech at Alton. It has been rarely, if ever, equalled upon the stump in the lofty plane which it maintains. During this campaign Mr. Lincoln made about sixty speeches, often speaking from two to three hours in the open air, but his voice, always penetrating, was heard distinctly by the immense crowds which listened. He never weakened, but grew fresher and stronger as he hardened himself to his task, so that he is said to have gained twenty pounds in weight during the canvass. At the result of the election, he gave no evidence of disappointment. Two weeks after, and when it was known that Mr. Douglas had won the senatorship, he wrote, "I am glad I made the late race. It gave me a hearing on the great and durable questions of the age which I could have had in no other way, and though I now sink out of view and shall be forgotten, I believe I have made some marks that will tell for the cause of civil liberty long after I am gone."

It had kindled a movement of which he was seemingly unconscious. His friends in Illinois, enthusiastic in his praise in the great intellectual duel with his distinguished rival now urged him as a possible Presidential candidate, but to such a suggestion he was sincere and immovable in his reply, "that he was not fitted either by education or experience for that high office." In April, 1859, he wrote, "I do not think myself fit for the Presidency." But towards the close of that year, possibly early in the year 1860, some intimate friends, active in Illinois politics, held a meeting in the rooms of Secretary of State Hatch at Springfield, and urged him to become the Illinois candidate for President. Late the next day, says Herndon, he authorized them, if they thought proper, to do so. In the meantime he had made speeches in Ohio and some of the Eastern States, of which that at the Cooper Institute in New York is the most important and won the highest praise. Horace Greeley classed it as an effort worthy of Webster. Still, little stir was made at the announcement of his candidacy, but his supporters, fully aware that they had hard work before them, entered upon it with a will. A thorough plan was mapped out. A Rock Island weekly started the ball. Other papers in the interior followed. Mr. Medill wrote in his vigorous style from Washington. The Press, Tribune, Journal, and Democrat in Chicago completed the endorsement, the Tribune among other things saying, "He will

carry to the White House little of the ornamental. The country must accept his sincerity, ability and honesty in the mould in which they are cast." On February 9, 1860, he wrote to Mr. Judd in Chicago, "I am not in a position where it would hurt much for me to not be nominated on the National ticket, but I am where it would hurt some for me to not get the Illinois delegates. * * * Can you not help me a little in this matter in your end of the vineyard?" writing at the end, "I mean this to be private." Little reference was made at the East to his candidacy, Harper's Weekly, under date of March 17, 1860, making the first mention of him from that quarter. It merely said, "Mr. Lincoln might do well in the far West, but in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, his name would add no strength to the ticket."

The closing days of April witnessed the breaking in two of the powerful Democratic party at their Charleston Convention, and brighter hopes came to the Republicans. The prospect stirred to renewed exertion the friends of each favorite. To secure Illinois solid for Lincoln was at once the aim of his friends. A concerted plan of action, spectacular and otherwise, was planned by his friends for the State Convention at Decatur. There were delegates, especially from the northern portion of the State, for Seward, but when the Convention met, Oglesby, presiding, managed according to previous plan with adroitness to suggest that a distinguished citizen of the State whom all delighted to honor was present, and amid a great uproar of cheering, Lincoln was taken bodily to the platform over the heads of the dense crowd. John Hanks was then announced in a dramatic manner bearing a couple of fence rails and a flag inscribed with the statement that they were from "a lot of rails made by Abraham Lincoln and John Hanks in the Sangamon bottom in the year 1830." A big demonstration followed. Lincoln made an appropriate speech, and the Convention, without waiting to hear from any one, instructed its delegates to use all honorable means to secure Mr. Lincoln's nomination for President, and to vote as a unit for him. Captain Schneider, who was there as a Seward delegate from Chicago, says, "I gave up for Seward at once."

Yet Mr. Seward was at this time and after conceded to be the probable nominee. He was the leader of his party. His speeches outranked those of all other chiefs of the party in the Senate. On a popular vote he was unquestionably his party's choice. The ma-

chine was for him. His faithful friend and mentor, Thurlow Weed, the Warwick of New York politics, directed the movement in person and with the rarest tact. He was a skilled veteran, and his word was followed with the most unquestioned confidence. William M. Evarts was Chairman and chief spokesman for the New York delegation. Always eloquent, he was at his best on the days preceding the Convention, as he went from delegation to delegation presenting the claims of the great New York governor. His charming and persuasive manner disarmed all criticism. Mr. Seward's friends boasted everywhere that his nomtnation was really an accomplished fact. An old friend of Weed's warned him that there were too many opposing candidates and that there was danger; but he answered, "The Blair's and Greeley cannot do it. The people have set their hearts on Seward."

But Mr. Weed belittled Mr. Greeley's influence. Representing more than a million readers of the New York Tribune, composing the great agricultural class, he was a power. More than a year previous he had written to a friend. "I lack faith that the anti-slavery men of this country have either the numbers or the sagacity required to make a President. I do not believe there are a million earnest anti-slavery men in the Union. I never said I would vote for Crittenden, but I am willing to go even lower than that, to support Sam Houston (do you know a more unprincipled old wretch?) if I may thereby elect a President in opposition to the slavery extending party. I hope Seward or Chase will be nominated. I will go to work for them with a will, but with perfect confidence that we are to be horribly beaten. I only want to be in shape when the thing is over to say, 'I told you so.' But let her drive."

Time had changed the outlook. Mr. Greeley had arrived in Chicago ahead of Mr. Weed. It was at once given out that he was here to oppose Seward, though at that date it was not known that he had years before written Mr. Seward "dissolving the firm of Seward, Weed & Greeley by the withdrawal of the junior partner." Extras were out at once, "Greeley at the Tremont, Weed at the Richmond." Always a most indefatigable worker, he labored personally with delegates as they arrived with more than his usual energy to convince them that Governor Seward was not the most available candidate. He boldly championed Judge Bates for President. In the convention his white coat and massive head were much sought out. Without any intention of disrespect, the first

inquiry was, "Where's Old Greeley?" Some fun-loving delegate fastened a Seward badge to his coat, but it did not disturb him.

Two other notable men led their delegations and were very influential because they were nominees for Governor in those two States so necessary for a Republican victory and yet so doubtful. These were Henry S. Lane of Indiana and Andrew G. Curtin of Pennsylvania. They were both able men, Curtin tactful, polished, handsome, a very beau ideal of a politician in the best sense; Lane, aggressive and shrewd and urging vehemently "that Indiana is lost unless Lincoln is the nominee." His work told heavily, especially with those delegates, always a considerable number, who are looking for a successful candidate and who in this case were eager to know whom the doubtful States, meaning Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, wanted. Many afterwards destined to fill large places in the affairs of the Nation were present, of whom John A. Andrew, Geo. Wm. Curtis, Thaddeus Stevens, Carl Schurz, and our own Governor Palmer were examples. Yet Halsted telegraphed the Cincinnati Commercial that the convention was "very much like the old Democratic article," admitting as a Republican that greater sobriety had characterized the assemblage of the Democracy a month before at Charleston. I do not recall such scenes as would justify this. I believe that in that old Wigwam there were more men who loved the right and hated the wrong than were ever in one political convention before or since, though I did think that Tom Hyer, a noted prize fighter and gambler, was a misfit, and was not a sincere exemplar of the doctrine of the Higher Law as expounded by his favorite, Mr. Seward.

Full delegations from all the free States were present, but there were some States strangely represented. Horace Greeley was a delegate from Oregon together with Eli Thayer, a resident of Kansas. Carter of Ohio, in the Convention referred sarcastically to Greeley as "the gentleman from New York or Oregon, I don't know which," but Mr. Greeley got even with him a little later by alluding to Carter as "the delegate from Maryland or Rhode Island, I don't care which." Other delegates, whose legal residence was in the North, were accredited to Texas or Louisiana. How the Committee on Credentials got along with this I never knew, but by some process of reasoning they admitted them. A debate ensued as to whether a majority of all the votes in the electoral college should nominate, or only a majority of the delegates that

were present. The first proposition, which would have been equivalent to the Democratic two-thirds rule, was stoutly resisted by Seward's friends, and finally rejected by a large majority.

The Committee on Resolutions had a difficult task, and their ork was well done considering the elements which made up the Convention. It was natural that much diversity of opinion upon many subjects of national importance should prevail among the members, carrying into that body as they did all the prior convictions and sentiments of the old Whig, Native American, Democratic, and Abolition parties, for it must be remembered that this was the second National Republican Convention. On the policy of resistance to the extension of slavery into the Territories there was harmony, and there it ended. The tariff plank was the first and chief point of dissension. It is worth repeating here as an example of the work of conciliation amounting to what is called in politics "a straddle," to satisfy the high protectionists and tariff for revenue men alike. It read as follows: "That while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country, and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the working man liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor and enterprise, and to the Nation commercial prosperity and independence." It is a phase of this year's political history, little remembered, that upon this tariff clause of the Republican platform Governor Curtin made the issue in Pennsylvania and won his memorable victory in October, that the slavery question had little part on the stump in that State campaign, and that but for that success Mr. Lincoln could not have been elected in November.

Aside from this clause just quoted, there was little that was notable in the platform as reported. It was prepared with much skill and shrewdness, to satisfy the diverse elements. It was not a polished piece of literary work, or with such ringing sentences as were especially inspiring, but it had one merit. There was but one "view-with-alarm" and not a single "point-with-pride" sentence in it. The Committee's report was attacked by the venerable Abolitionist Giddings, who tried to amend the first clause by adding the words of the Declaration of Independence, "That all

men are created equal, etc."; but he failed, and when voted down, pettishly and sadly withdrew not to return until later when George William Curtis in one of his short and brilliant speeches had swept the Convention off its feet and compelled it to reverse its decision and incorporate the language of the Declaration which Giddings had proposed in vain. After the nomination, Evarts, much dejected by the defeat of Seward, turned to Curtis and said, "Well, Curtis, we have at least saved the Declaration of Independence."

The convention having concluded most of its preliminary work was ready for nomination at about five o'clock on the afternoon of the second day and adjourned to the next morning, much to the disappointment of the Seward leaders who were hoping for his nomination that evening. [1] This night was a fatal one for Seward, though his friends were very confident. Thurlow Weed declared openly that Seward would be nominated by acclamation on the morrow, and all the current reports at midnight seemed to point to his nomination on the first ballot. Greeley at a very late hour wired the Tribune that the opposition to Seward could not be concentrated on any candidate and that he would be nominated. Mr. Halsted's dispatch to Cincinnati was to the same effect. The New York delegates were in high feather at the Richmond. Their bands serenaded the various delegations at their headquarters and nothing disturbed their prospects. But there was a large room at the Tremont in which sat the portly form of David Davis. All through the night his lieutenants, Judd, Sweet, Cook, Palmer and others were flitting in and out holding whispered consultations which were of much import. Early in the week they had started their campaign with the Indianians, who had been divided about equally between Bates and McLean, though a few leaned to Lincoln. A promise of a Cabinet position to Caleb B. Smith and the

1 Parenthetically here I may say that this convention was unlike any of the succeeding great conventions of the party in that there were no night sessions but instead great mass meetings were held in whlch much fervid oratory stirred the popular heart and the people had full sway. On one of these evenings Caleb B. Smith of Indiana was put forward as the opening speaker but the crowd did not wait long before their premature and uncalled for applause compelled him to retire, giving place to Corwin of Ohio and after him Owen Lovejoy, both of whom were great favorites and "spellbinders," Lovejoy in the passionate style then much in vogue removing first his collar and necktie and finally his coat, exclaiming as he did so, "Will some one hold my coat while I stone Stephen?"

solid 26 votes of the Hoosier State were secured; not only so, but the active, persistent work of most of her delegates with the other delegations two days in advance of the nomination was powerful, coming as it did from this doubtful State. Henry S. Lane boldly declared that with Seward as the nominee his State would be lost to the Republicans.

All inquiries were now turned towards the Briggs House, where the Pennsylvania delegation wrangled without result. Governor Curtin, its Chairman, was sincerely opposed to Cameron and outspoken that though he would make the fight he did not believe he could carry his State for Seward; he was inclined to Bates, but the delegation was distracted, though about two-thirds of them made Cameron their first choice. Long before this, Seward had regarded these delegates as virtually his. Earlier in the year he had written to Weed to see Cameron, saying that Cameron claims all the Philadelphia delegates but one, and later he writes again to Weed, "Speaking of Cameron, I promised him when I left Washington to spend a day or two with him on my way home. He took me to his house; told me all was right. He was for me, and Pennsylvania would be. It might happen," he said, "they would cast their first ballot for him, but he was not in, etc." Davis, fully aware of the importance of Pennsylvania's vote, notwithstanding he carried in his pocket a dispatch only a few hours old from Lincoln, which said, "I agree with Seward in his irrepressible conflict, but I do not endorse his Higher Law Doctrine," and adding, underscored, "*Make no contracts to bind me*," staked another Cabinet position to Cameron's friends for their chief, and he was sure before daylight of that third day that the 52 votes of Pennsylvania were Lincoln's on the second ballot. It has always been disputed that this trade was thus made, but it was never denied that it was agreed that the Illinois delegation should unite in a request to the President-elect that a position in the Cabinet should be tendered Cameron. After the nomination, Greeley, little aware of the fine work of Davis, wrote to Pike among other things, "If you had seen the Pennsylvania delegation and known how much money Weed had in hand, you would not have believed that we could do as well as we did. Give Curtin thanks for that." Little dreaming of the hard work of the undaunted Illinois crowd, Weed made overtures to them to nominate Lincoln for Vice-President, and seemed much chagrined that they did not respond.

The morning witnessed a rare sight. Enormous and excited crowds from the neighboring country filled the streets, packing the large area in Market Street fronting the Wigwam, and they were nearly all shouting for "Old Abe." Mr. Raymond, reporting to the New York Times, says, " The first distinct impression in Lincoln's favor was made by the tremendous applause which arose from the thousands of persons congregated in the Wigwam upon the presentation of Lincoln's name as a candidate and by the echo it received from the still larger gathering in the street outside." The arrangements for the convention were in the hands of Lincoln's friends, and they had been made with special reference to securing the largest possible concourse of his immediate neighbors and political supporters. It was easy to see that the thundering shouts which greeted every vote given for him impressed what Mr. Greeley called "the ragged columns forming the opposing hosts," with the conviction that he was the only man with whom Mr. Seward could be defeated. But the Seward delegates and friends, marshalled in procession early and, headed by Tom Hyer, marching to the inspiring strains of Dodworth's New York band, seemed to overawe the crowd as they passed through Lake Street. Prolonging for effect their march, they reached the Wigwam to discover that the most available spaces were taken up by the hearty shouters of Lincoln. It may be doubted if these demonstrations are ever of much avail in influencing the delegates; yet Mr. Raymond, fresh from that scene, says, " The nomination was decided far more by the shouts and applause of the vast concourse which dominated the convention than by the direct labors of any of the delegates."

The view of that vast audience was a sight not to be forgotten. The rough lumber of the interior of the Wigwam was well concealed by flags, bunting, streamers and evergreens. Oil portraits of many distinguished men of the past had been borrowed from Healy's Gallery and conspicuously hung and decorated, adding to the impressiveness of the view. Pennants and canvass in the arched roof finished the overhead. Abundance of light and ventilation from roof and three sides of the building completed the adaptibility of the great hall for the largest audience which had ever assembled under one roof in America. The various delegates and alternates were well grouped on the stage. The voice of the Chairman, the Hon. George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, could be

heard distinctly in all portions of the building. Tall, stately and dignified, the very type of a New England Puritan, he was an admirable presiding officer. He lost no time in getting the convention to its work. There was no display of oratory as Mr. Evarts simply but impressively presented Mr. Seward. Mr. Judd followed on behalf of Illinois with Lincoln. Governor Reeder named Cameron; Carter of Ohio, Chase; Frank Blair of St. Louis named Judge Bates. Thomas Corwin of Ohio, Judge McLean, and perhaps others were mentioned. Seconding Seward were Carl Schurz and John A. Andrew. Seconding Lincoln was Henry S. Lane of Indiana. The formal presentation of the names of the candidates would have been the work of a few moments but for the wild cheering at the mention of Lincoln's, as well as Seward's names, though Lincoln's friends were both in lung capacity and numbers superior to Seward's.

The first ballot resulted in a complete surprise to Seward's friends, but to the Illinois coterie it was about as expected, Seward, 173½, Lincoln, 102. Vermont voted for Collamer, Ohio nearly all for Chase, and Pennsylvania for Cameron. This result, so unexpected as nearly developing Seward's full strength, had great influence, especially with those, always a considerable number, who desire to alight early in the band wagon of the winner. On the second ballot, Seward gained eleven, and Lincoln, getting the solid Vermont delegation, 48 of Cameron's Pennsylvania votes, the 6 Delaware votes and some scattering, rose to 181 to Seward's 184½, which was within about fifty votes of the number needed to nominate. The Lincoln gain, mainly by the transfer from Cameron of the Pennsylvania vote, made a tumult which was electric in its effect. The enthusiastic shouts of Lincoln's friends in the vast audience were hard to control. Mr. Judd, conspicuous on the platform leading Lincoln's forces, struggled to suppress this, knowing full well that if no delay occurred, his chief would be nominated in another ballot. He waved his hands wildly at the audience, but they were stubborn and not easily quieted. At the completion of the third ballot, Lincoln won over 15 from Ohio, eight from New Jersey, nine from Maryland and some scattering from other States and stood within 2½ votes of a nomination, Carter of Ohio, always trying to be conspicuous, though a stutterer, stammered out a change of four votes from his State and the work was done; other delegations continued changing until the result as finally announced was Lincoln 352½, Seward 110½.

At the result the New Yorkers seemed paralyzed. Evarts, in a most dejected mood, promptly moved to make it unanimous. A din of excitement never reached before moved the whole city. The gun on top of the Wigwam was echoed by one on the Tremont, and Chicago streets were filled with the wildest and most hilarious people she has ever possessed. Henry S. Lane danced a war dance on the floor of the convention. The Indiana and Illinois men hugged each other in tears of joy. The Illinois delegation resolved that the Millenium had come. The streets were filled with processions bearing fence rails, banners—everything that could be improvised to celebrate. The friends of Seward were aghast and unnerved. Sorrow and, in some cases, bitter anger were plainly visible in their ranks. I remember to have seen one of them angrily strike at Henry S. Lane, and there was a smashing of umbrellas and hats before they could be separated. Mr. Weed's biographer says that he shed bitter tears over the defeat. Who could blame him? Seward wrote to him the following day from Auburn in these words, "My dear Weed: You have my unbounded gratitude for this last, as for a whole life of, effort in my behalf. I wish I were sure that your sense of disappointment is as light as my own. It ought to be equally so, if we have been equally zealous and thoughtful of friends, party, and country. I know not what has been left undone that could have been done, or done that ought to be regretted." It had been agreed that Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, should receive the nomination for Vice-President, but he refused it, and, hurriedly, Hamlin, of Maine, was nominated, and the convention was over.

A bitter warfare was made upon Mr. Greeley by Mr. Seward's friends upon their return home, which never fully healed while they lived. Mr. Greeley sought to avoid it, saying, "The past is dead. Let the dead past bury its dead and let the mourners, if they will, go about the streets." Disavowing his own work at the convention, he declared that Mr. Lincoln was nominated because he could get the most electoral votes, and that was a reason which rarely failed in a National Convention.

The opening prayer on the third day of the convention was made by a Rev. Mr. Green. In it occur these words: "We entreat Thee, that at some future but not distant day, the evils which now invest the body politic shall not only have been arrested in their progress, but wholly eradicated from the system. And may

the pen of the historian trace an intimate connection between that glorious consummation and the transactions of this convention." What one of that vast audience who heard this prayer looked for a fulfillment of these prophetic words in the short space of five years. For those fearful years of patriotic fervor and self-sacrifice, of awful carnage and heroic struggle, the convention, little dreaming of what they were doing, chose the leader, but a mighty Providence directed. The late Governor John M. Palmer relates an interview with Mr. Lincoln, which occurred during the height of the Civil War. He had gone very early in the morning to see him before the crowd, and found him in a barber's chair at the White House. Chatting awhile, he said, in the good natured badinage of friendship, "Mr. Lincoln, if I had known at Chicago that this great rebellion was to occur, I would not have consented to go to a one-horse town like Springfield and take a one-horse lawyer and make him President." Pushing the barber away excitedly, Mr. Lincoln replied: "Neither would I, Palmer. If we had had a great man for the Presidency, one who had an inflexible policy and stuck to it, this rebellion would have succeeded, and the Southern Confederacy would have been established. All that I have done is, that I have striven to do my duty to-day, with the hope that when to-morrow comes I will be ready for it."

And so it was that this great man, faithful to his every-day duty, was ordained of God to be the mightiest figure in that awful conflict which was to remove the curse of slavery from the nation.

RULES

1. Books may be kept two weeks and may be renewed once for the same period, except 7 day books and magazines.

2. A fine of two cents a day will be charged on each book which is not returned according to the above rule. No book will be issued to any person incurring such a fine until it has been paid.

3. All injuries to books beyond reasonable wear and all losses shall be made good to the satisfaction of the librarian.

4. Each borrower is held responsible for all books drawn on his card and for all fines accruing on the same.